

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FAST AT FRENCH ATOM PLANT

Peace News Reporter

EIGHTEEN Frenchmen are fasting publicly for 15 days in protest against the use of nuclear energy for military purposes.

Half of them started at the atomic plant at Marcoule in the South of France, the others at the Palace of Nations in Geneva where the international conference of scientists on the control of nuclear weapon was being held. They started their fast on June 30.

A leaflet put out by the group, who are members of the Community of the Arch, which includes the French author and follower of Gandhi, Lanza del Vasto, sets out the facts of atomic death, and adds: "Preparations are being hurried forward at the Marcoule plant for the first French plutonium bomb whose testing has been promised for the Sahara soon."

The action is taken as a follow-up to their demonstration on April 11 when, together with women, children, professors and priests they entered the Marcoule atomic plant and lay down outside the Director's office until granted an interview.

In an open letter on the French atomic bomb to General de Gaulle they now state:

"Advantage is being taken of Parliament's holiday to evade all discussion and consultation on this matter of life and death for our country and for others."

Taken away in police vans

The first day that the fasters arrived at the Marcoule plant they were taken away by the police, and are now fasting near the factory of Lamotte, in Vaucluse. The day before they started their demonstration 200 police waited in vain for them at the nuclear weapons site. When the Community members arrived next day they were told of a police proclamation forbidding any public demonstration by the Community.

The demonstrators lay down on the ground and the police put them into individual compartments in police vans and took them to headquarters for identification. After this formality (the members of the Community are well known for their dress of blue linen), they were taken from Le Gard back into their own department (county) of Vaucluse where they are continuing their fast.

Russell attacks Swiss ban

EARL RUSSELL last Friday sent an open letter to the Swiss President condemning his Government's ban on an international congress of European intellectuals against nuclear weapons which was to have been held in Basle last weekend.

"A suspicion exists," he continued, "that you wish to keep the population of Switzerland ignorant of the dangers involved in nuclear weapons until after you have secured their manufacture by your country."

Delegations to the congress were to have come from Britain, Holland, Switzerland, France, Sweden, Belgium and Germany.

It is hoped that the congress will now be held later this year in Britain or Germany.

(See 'Monopoly in War,' back page)

Students launch VOTERS' VETO

Support for 'no H-bomb' candidates only

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

IN an effort to establish a large group of MPs in the next Parliament who are in favour of Nuclear Disarmament, a new programme of action has been announced this week.

Organisation is in the hands of the London University Students' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament under the title "Voters' Veto."

In a high-pressure canvass, accompanied by full publicity every voter in a constituency will be asked:

- His normal political allegiance.
- Whether he will withhold his vote from the candidate of his choice, if such a candidate fails to agree, at least in principle, with Nuclear Disarmament.

The first constituency to be canvassed is Battersea South (London). One hundred volunteers are being sought who will commence work in the constituency on September 16.

The result of the last election was: Con. 15,044; Lab. 14,365; Lib. 2,219; Maj 679. Out of an electorate of 39,239, 31,628 voted.

Volunteers for Voters Veto are asked to send their names to William Crampton, 143 Upper Street, London, N.1.

'CRY EUROPE'

Hans Werner Richter, Theodor Pirker (German ND Campaign leader) Claud Bordet (France) Paul Ignatus (Hungary), José Kinderlan (Madrid students strike leader) on "Cry Europe," 7.30, July 14 at St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston, Road, London, N.W.1. Organised by Universities and Left Review.

City Council supports H-bomb marcher

MRS. OLIVE GIBBS, who played a leading part in the March on the Brize Norton Bomber Base, has won the support of the Oxford City Council in a demand that there shall be no flights by H-bombers over the university city.

The following resolution, moved by Mrs. Gibbs, secured 29 votes against 28 at a meeting of the Council on Monday:

In view of the presence of a hydrogen bomb base at Brize Norton, this council views with concern the flying of American aircraft carrying nuclear weapons within sufficient distance of the City of Oxford as to constitute a danger in the event of an accident, either to the aircraft, or the bombs carried by it, and calls upon the Government to prohibit the flying of planes of this type within the area.

Answering a charge of "selfishness," Mrs. Gibbs, a convinced pacifist, said: "If a desire to protect the residents of Oxford from a very real danger is a selfish desire I am guilty of it."

Northern march: 400 reach Liverpool

MP PROTESTS AT POLICE PHOTOGRAPHER

THE 143-mile march across Northern England in support of nuclear disarmament ended in Liverpool on Sunday evening. The hard core of the marchers had left Withersna on the Yorkshire coast 10 days earlier.

About 100 marchers set out on the final day from Warrington and ended up 400 strong at Liverpool, where they held a meeting on a bomb site in the centre of the city. Frank Allaun, M.P., one of the marchers, addressing the large crowd, told them that it had been the longest march in Britain since the hunger marches of 25 years ago.

Earlier he had been indignant at the taking of photographs of everyone on the march at Salford. When the photographer in question, named as George Penn, was evasive about his purpose, a local Alderman and Watch Committee member, recog-

nised him as the official photographer to the city police force. Frank Allaun stated: "I want to know on whose instructions the pictures were taken. We refuse to be treated like criminals because we want to stop war."

Another case of police photography, this time in Bradford, of every individual boarding a chartered train to take them to a recent Communist Party demonstration in London, was investigated over the weekend by George Craddock, MP, well-known pacifist and Chairman of the No-Conscription Council. These police films are now reported to have been destroyed.



The March passing through Leeds. Photos: Barry Dallas

Two-months at Aldermaston

THE Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War is to start its prolonged picket-cum-vigil at the Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on Monday, July 21. It will last for nine weeks until September 22.

Already considerable support has come in for the project, and a rota of vigillars and campers is being drawn up at the Committee's office at 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 (STAmford Hill 7062).

The vigillars will make their headquarters in caravans near the plant, as at Easter, and offers of loans of more caravans are urgently needed for any of the nine weeks.

Peace education work in the locality of Aldermaston amongst the many villages that lie between Reading, Newbury and Basingstoke is being planned. It is hoped to make the whole countryside more aware of what is happening at Aldermaston.

At the weapons plant a round-the-clock vigil will be held, and it is hoped to have friendly meetings with Trade Union representatives and H-bomb workers.

Lambeth Bishops reply to pacifists

ASSURANCES that "the problem of nuclear weapons will receive prayerful consideration," have been given by a number of bishops attending the Lambeth Conference to members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship who have written to them on this subject.

Members wrote in response to the appeal made by the Rev. G. C. Wilson and reported in Peace News last week.

The Bishops of Aston (England), Nagpur, and Basutoland, are among the pacifists known to be attending the Lambeth Conference, the Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship told Peace News last week.

The Bishop of Nagpur will be among the speakers at the APF's Summer Conference at Elfinward, Haywards Heath, Sussex, from August 16 to 23.

Other speakers include Victor Yates, MP, the Rev Francis Noble, Vera Brittain and Alan Shadwick, Assistant Editor of the Church Times who will be speaking on "Pacifism and Journalism."



Women and children join the March at Leeds.

Peace News bookshop recommends . . .

BRIGHTER THAN A THOUSAND SUNS by Robert Jungk 21s. (1s.)
The moral and political history of the atomic scientists.

WHY SO ANGRY? 16s. (1s.)
by Sir Richard Acland
" . . . concerned with changing the whole nature of our minds and attitudes."—P. Toynbee.

DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE 18s. (1s.)
by Sir Stephen King-Hall on unilateral nuclear disarmament.

MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH 5s. (9d.)
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NEXT STEPS IN THE CAMPAIGN

THE 140-mile march across Yorkshire and Lancashire that finished at Liverpool on Sunday brings to a close another phase in the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The Campaign started on February 17 with mass meetings at the Central Hall, went on to Aldermaston and Brize Norton, held a Mass Lobby and march on London, formed a Women's Campaign and has held meetings somewhere in the provinces nearly every evening since March.

Not surprisingly people are now asking: "What next?" It is worth taking stock and considering some of the things the Campaign has and has not yet achieved.

In the first place it has signally put an end to the reign of apathy regarding foreign affairs. Thousands of people have been able to express their corporate dissent and horror at the drift of events and the Government's major role in entrenching the nuclear problem. People are willing to get out on to the streets in a manner which was unknown, except for Suez, since the 1930's.

The H-bomb has become a debating point throughout the country, the Press barrier has been broken down a little and it has become respectable to oppose the bipartisan foreign policy. Above all the smear of Communist inspiration has disappeared for the time being, perhaps even for ever.

The Campaign has focussed attention upon the greatest problem of the age and has forced many people to start thinking independently. It has also eased the way to making pacifism a policy to be considered intelligently instead of a label against which people react.

All this is to the good.

Political and TU action

THE Campaign has not, however, faced effectively many important considerations. It has not touched the political parties or the trade union movement, though it is in this direction that it now proposes to turn its attention. Nobody expects a radical foreign policy from the Conservative Party, but the Labour Party still commands the loyalty of a high proportion of Campaigners.

It is here that the Campaign faces its major dilemma, for the Labour Party has perpetrated a brass-faced piece of cynical manipulation.

Seeing the dramatic success at Aldermaston, it put forward the date of its own "peace policy" campaign, featuring Gaitskell and Nye Bevan, and syphoned off a lot of potential support. A little later, after a few meetings and a general dampening off of intense enthusiasms, the Labour Party Campaign was ever so quietly shelved.

The Party evidently believes that the CND is no longer a threat to its big bomb policy, and there is little doubt that, with the Party Conference only weeks away and a General Election coming in less than two years, people will increasingly turn to the Labour Party to see if it offers any hope.

By Christopher Farley

Meanwhile the CND dares not face the problem for fear of splitting those who believe they have seen the writing on the political wall and those who feel either an emotional or "practical" attachment to the Labour Party.

The General Election must, however, be a focal point for the Campaign. Unless Campaigners can vote against the Bomb, either for candidates or by mass abstention, there is little conventional action that will alter the paths of the giants who dictate suicide.

It will be interesting to see how the Campaign approaches the trade union movement. It is already a notorious fact that many thousands of TU members cannot have the slightest idea how their leaders will vote at a Labour Party Conference; and most TU leaders haven't the time or the interest to devote their attention to foreign affairs. This makes for manipulation and behind-the-scenes bargaining.

Is this the sort of top-level approach that the Campaign can make to the TU movement, or will it ask TU members to adopt an individual responsible attitude to nuclear weapons and to propagate this in their branches? In this race against time the temptation to do the former is great, especially because the Campaign has so far made virtually no impression on the working classes, but one can only imagine the disastrous consequences.

Perhaps the most striking immediate action the Campaign could take is to encourage further TU branches to refuse to have anything to do with nuclear weapons and rockets sites. Apart from its practical effect, such refusal has the great psychological effect of facing the Government with direct action and reminding ordinary working men that they are ultimately the seat of power.

Further techniques

MEANWHILE the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has already gone far in its plans to return to Aldermaston for nine weeks from July 21. This is an ambitious project to face the workers persistently with a challenge which the more conscientious will find difficult to evade.

It is also indicative of the amount of effort that will be required in the next round of the Campaign, now that the routine techniques of marches, meetings, protests and petitions have been exploited. The Campaign will have to explore further techniques which allow of rank-and-file participation and also generate the sort of camaraderie of long marches—an experience which is little known in political life.

It is significant that within the last fortnight three quite independent groups have had individual meetings to consider further action in the Campaign.

When the days are numbered there can be no marking time.

LETTERS**Mass demonstrations**

MAY I protest against the assumption by your correspondent, G. H. Petch (PN, June 27), that H-bomb protest marchers walk with their "minds in abeyance," and have chosen a superficial method of protesting. I travelled to London for the March on London with a small party from Liverpool, and I was conscious of their deep sincerity. I was also deeply impressed by the general behaviour in Trafalgar Square.

The mistake that many of those who prefer other methods make is that they so easily assume that the marchers make no other gesture than marching. To some of us, pacifists and near-pacifists, a protest march is an opportunity to make out witness public to the man in the street. The march may be incidental to a life dedicated to service or to seeking the ways of peace. Those who dislike these marches should not so easily assume that those taking part never do anything else for the cause.

If there is a gulf between us and the man in the street it is our duty as pacifists to endeavour to bridge that gulf by every possible means. Let us beware of being self-righteous and widening that gulf. Greater men and women than us have not feared publicity, and have been willing to identify themselves with the man in the street, and so put over their message. Let us have faith in the inherent good sense of ordinary people. Perhaps they need leaders and convinced teachers to show them the way.—**MARY HARLAND**, 18 Ireton St., Liverpool, 4.

Church and State

IN his excellent article (PN, June 27), the Very Rev. George F. MacLeod rightly dates the official departure of Christianity from pacifism from the time of the great compromise between Church and State in the reign of Constantine. Where I feel he is utterly wrong is in saying that this compromise was "on the whole beneficial."

As I have shown in my book "Mithras: The Fellow in the Cap" (to be published by Rider on July 14) this compromise with paganism which had, in fact, started long before the fourth century, succeeded in so adulterating the original pacific teachings of Jesus Christ with the values and violence of the cult of Mithras, the imperialistic warrior God, that true Christianity, which was essentially the Creed of Compassion, has only managed to survive among a handful of clear-sighted religionists, such as the Quakers, and individual Christian pacifists—hence the present state of what has

been so falsely called "Christendom."
ESME WYNNE-TYSON, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

Young conscripts

AT the moment of writing British troops are concentrating in Cyprus. The world believes that they are there with a view to intervention in the civil strife now raging in the Lebanon.

Among these British troops—and a very high proportion of them—are young conscripts. These boys have little knowledge of the issues involved; they know only that they must obey—or else!

The No Conscription Council protests against this wickedness. The assurances of Government that conscription will end in 1962 do nothing to mitigate the immoral nature of this latest example of State pressure on the young and voteless.

The slogan of this Council is "End Conscription Now"! We hope that our friends in the peace movement generally will join with us in this demand.—**L. J. CUMING**, General Secretary, No Conscription Council, Crestfield Street, London, W.C.1.

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End these tests — plead island people

MARSHALLESE PAY PRICE OF 'MILITARY NECESSITY'

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DEMANDS for cessation of nuclear weapon tests in the Pacific Islands came from four different sources recently to the UN Trusteeship Council. The Pacific Islands, composed of over 2,000 islands scattered over an ocean area of 3,000,000 square miles, are administered by the United States as a strategic trust territory.

The first two demands came from India and the Soviet Union as resolutions, worded to prevent UN trust territories being used for nuclear tests. The Indian resolution was rejected and the Soviet one not pressed to a vote. Introducing the Indian resolution, Arthur S. Lall said that the US had "no sovereign rights" in the Pacific Islands and stressed that it was Asian people who were being subjected to the unknown hazards from nuclear explosions.

Petitions were also made in person to the Trusteeship Council by Norman Thomas, the well-known US Socialist Party leader, and Dwight Heine, a citizen of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Islands group. Norman Thomas spoke for himself, and for Robert Gilmore and Trevor Thomas, both of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Dwight Heine petitioned on behalf of his family, including six children.

MISUSE OF POWER

Nuclear tests in trust territories should be considered "an illegitimate extension of the power of the nation to which the trusteeship is committed," declared Norman Thomas. He regretted criticising the action of his own Government, but felt that in doing so he was "acting in accordance with the best American tradition and the wishes of a great many Americans. We are proud," he continued, "to be citizens of a nation in which individuals opposing a policy of their government can with impunity state their case to the appropriate agency and to the conscience of the world." Specifying the actions taken by the US Government in conducting the weapon tests, Norman Thomas stated: "It is obvious that these actions would never have been taken except for the grave peril inherent in the tests."

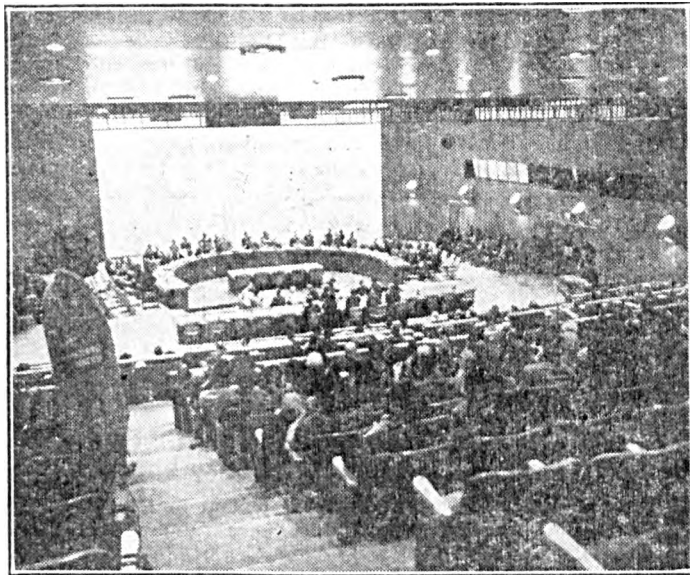
The US, he said, had moved people from one island to another, closed off 390,000 square miles of the Pacific which it did not own, kept US citizens out by exercise of police power, and excluded fishermen from important fishing grounds.

When asked by the Australian representative why he had not protested against the Soviet tests, Norman Thomas replied that if he had known where to make such a protest he would have been "delighted to petition Moscow."

The US representative, replying to Norman Thomas, said that it was not a question of a misuse of a strategic area, but rather of the effectiveness of the precautions taken to protect the Marshall Islands.

Dwight Heine recalled the sufferings of the Marshall Islanders during Japanese occupation in World War II, and later because of H-tests. "We are told these tests in our home islands are necessary for security and peace . . . but we wonder whether it is fair, or necessary, that the Marshallese people be required to pay twice, once in war and now in peace, in the name of security and military necessity."

The UN
Trustee-
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Council
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session



Aldermaston: pacifist youth plan a week's vigil

THE Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War, who are organising the round-the-clock vigil outside the atomic research establishment at Aldermaston, had a happy surprise recently.

They learnt that the Pacifist Youth Action Group in London are planning to help them with a week's picketing.

PYAG hope that all the members of the former London group of that name will make this the opportunity to meet, get to know and work as a team with the newly formed group.

Sunday speaking

But PYAG isn't aiming to be exclusive. So if there are any other young people who would like to meet PYAG and who don't mind doing a week's picketing outside the Aldermaston plant between Sept. 8—15 perhaps they too would get in touch with PYAG, C/O Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Volunteers names will then be forwarded to the Direct Action Committee who will work out the picketing rota.

The idea of the week's picketing came from a PYAG member who has recently been trying his hand—or rather his voice—at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner, on the platform of Pacifist Forum which the group maintain.

The crowds soon gather to listen at 3 p.m. every Sunday as London University student Carol Taylor, Laurens Otter, and PN staffmen Terence Chivers and Michael Randle put pacifism on the controversial level. At the same time, outside the Park gates, other PYAG members help to keep Peace News sales going. Helpers welcome.

WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

The "have-nots" will benefit from a recent scheme inaugurated in India by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The aim is for every home in India to save a handful of corn a day to maintain workers who have dedicated themselves to the service of the people in the spirit of Sarvodaya (welfare for all).

The Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation convened by the World Council of Peace will meet in Stockholm from July 16-22.

"Disarmament is everyone's responsibility for everyone," says the latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Station Rd., Ackworth, Nr. Pontefract.

Well-known sportsmen will appear on the platform at a meeting in Cardiff on July 12—just before the British Commonwealth and Empire Games—at which the colour bar in the South African team (white only) will be stressed.

Great cruelty—small sentence

By Basil Delaine

BECAUSE he thought an African farm labourer was going to desert his job, a white farm manager in Southern Rhodesia beat the African, set a dog on him, then chained him to a tree by the neck.

The manager, Letion Volker, was fined £20. Half the sentence was suspended for 12 months.

July 11, 1958—PEACE NEWS—3

NEEDED NOW!



LATER this year we shall be selling the Christmas Cards which bring in the income which balances the PN Budget.

That money will not start coming in until the end of September. In the meantime the paper has to continue publication. We have no property to mortgage, even our typewriters are ancient, and we are anxious as to how we shall make ends meet during the next three months.

We ask every reader who can to help us now, that is, within the next fortnight.

Those who have bills to pay, will they please pay them as quickly as possible. Those whose subscriptions are falling due, can you send us a two year's subscription? (We are carrying a loss of a £1,000 from last year's working when we maintained the price of Peace News at 4d. too long for our financial health!)

Above all, help to swell the Peace News Fund. We would like to have seen the Fund standing at £1,000, with only £1,000 still to be raised. The need is very urgent at this particularly difficult time.

Contributions since June 27: £11 9s. 3d. Total since Feb. 1, 1958: £588 8s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

SPRUCING UP A BUCKS MANSION

Peace News Reporter

A LARGE mansion in Buckinghamshire will be the scene of a two-week camp from July 21—August 2.

Volunteers for the job should be ready to tackle scrubbing, painting and decorating so that the house can be made ready for members of the Society of Brothers to move in. Bulstrode, as the mansion is called, is this Christian pacifist sect's new centre, closer to London than their community in Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

People, of all ages, who would like to

help should provide their own working clothes, sheets, blankets and sleeping bag; the Society of Brothers will provide the rest, beside leading the campers in songs and discussion.

Volunteers should write to the Society of Brothers, Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, Buckinghamshire.

Nearly 500 boys and girls with their leaders—all members of The Woodcraft Folk—will leave on July 25 to partake in international work camps overseas.

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Riots in Ceylon

THE present racial conflict in Ceylon is so insanely hideous that its effects overwhelm us and obscure the causes. Many fathers begat this particular devil.

The last government (the United National Party) utilised emotional issues like a national flag, and promise of national language to obscure corruption and lack of economic policy. Increasing unemployment intensified the economic competition between the easy-going Sinhalese majority and the hard-working Tamil minority who were better equipped (because of the higher proportion of mission schools in the North) to undertake the better paid and more secure "English-speaking" jobs. Inevitably national paranoia crept in during the fight for Independence and, instead of evaporating when the external enemy ceased to exist, grew into racial and sectional conflict.

The present government stumbled into power without consideration of the implications of its election manifesto. It enacted the undemocratic "Sinhala only" Bill, making Sinhalese the national language, failed to bring into effect "the reasonable use of the Tamil language" and manifested incredible vacillation when faced with the consequences of its actions.

Some Tamil and Sinhalese politicians, intoxicated by power after years of wandering in the wilderness, unscrupulously welcomed and encouraged primitive emotions and reflexes. There were also outside influences exploiting the conflict for their own ends.

Reactionary elements in both races used racial issues to block economic and social progress. Certain Buddhist priests, vociferous but by no means representative, worked on the emotional impetus provided by the 2,500th Anniversary celebrations of the Buddha's death.

Forces of sanity

DRIVING the Tamils to the North and pampering the Sinhalese cannot solve Ceylon's problem of unemployment, which is rooted in an essentially undiversified Capitalist-Feudalist economy. The national paranoia that grows into racial conflict cannot be cured except through a radical change in education and political consciousness, so that humanity is considered as a whole, and races and nations merely as convenient administrative and cultural units. The "Sinhala only" Bill has been found unworkable; whatever may be the legalistic or face-saving devices adopted, parity between the two languages seems to be the only realistic solution.

It is true that Sinhalese culture suffered more under foreign occupation. It is also true that Sinhalese culture is Buddhist culture and that it should be revived. But by using violence some Buddhists have perverted and distorted the very essence of Buddhism—*Maithri* (loving-kindness and tolerance)—and thrown to the winds the very Precepts by which they as Buddhists have undertaken to live. And this they have done in the name of Buddhism!

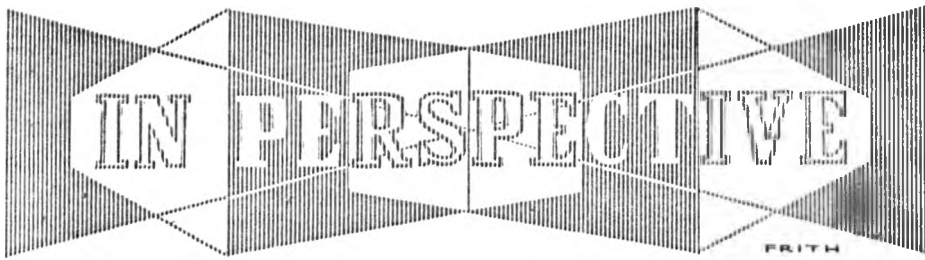
Western newspapers have failed to mention that there are forces, by no means negligible, which have consistently and unreservedly opposed racialism and pleaded for parity between the Sinhalese and Tamils. Prominent among these is the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja Party (NLSSP) whose leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, is the present Leader of the Opposition. They and their co-workers in the trade unions have suffered electoral defeats as well as personal violence—even murder—at the hands of both Tamil and Sinhalese extremists.

There are several members of the present government who themselves oppose racialism. Every friendly encouragement that the West can give to these forces of sanity will strengthen them in their efforts to heal the rift between these two races which have for hundreds of years worked amicably together.

A nuclear vocation

FRANCE has the right, General de Gaulle has informed Mr. Dulles, to a "nuclear vocation." He is resolved that France shall once again become one of the four Great Powers.

As France is ten years behind the three nuclear powers in the development of nu-



clear weapons it will be necessary for its Government to devote a stupendous amount of money to research and development for their production if it becomes necessary for France to undertake this anew for herself, and it is obvious that there could be much better uses for the money. If, for instance, the General's declarations regarding Algeria are to be taken at anything like their face value—

whether they imply "integration" or not—they will demand more than all the spare resources available to France.

General de Gaulle, therefore, asks that there may be a transfer of nuclear arms and information from the US to France; to which Mr. Dulles has replied that this is prevented by the MacMahon Act. This, however, will certainly not be the end of the question. The provision in France of

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'OCCUPATION' AND 'DOMINATION'

MR. KHRUSHCHOV REGARDS AS ABSURD British fears that Britain might conceivably be the victim of a Russian aggression.

What is there we could take from Britain that we should want, he asked the recent delegation from the British peace and pacifist organisations in its interview with him.

During a discussion that the delegation had with a "forum" of Soviet university students, the students similarly complained that in their fear of Russian aggression the British were the victims of militarist propaganda. One of them quoted Oxford historian A. J. P. Taylor, who had remarked that a Russian occupation of Britain would be preferable to the destruction of the British population in an H-bomb war.

This, it was urged, showed that even those who were clearly working for peace could become conditioned by militarist propaganda, for the Russians were not contemplating any policy that could lead to the occupation of Britain, and it was absurd to discuss matters on the basis of any such hypothesis.

Now all this is, of course, a simplification of British fears, but it finds its justification in the way this matter is presented by the advocates of the present British military policy.

Even those who disagree with this policy are inclined to discuss suggestions for an alternative policy as means of protection against a threatened Russian invasion. Commander King-Hall's proposal for meeting a Russian occupation is, of course, urged as a means of removing that fear as a necessary measure in enabling the British people to face the world with a more promising policy than the manufacture and stock-piling of H-bombs.

★ ★
IN THE DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER there is a tendency to alternate the words "occupation" and "domination."

They are often used as interchangeable terms, but this is misleading and is often a deliberate contrivance to hamper clear thinking on this subject.

It is not only Mr. Khrushchov and the young Russian student who regard as absurd the idea of a Russian invasion of Britain, out of the blue, as a means of extending Soviet power. Even the most militaristic correspondents of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* must be aware that this is so.

THE "DEFENCE" DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT TODAY IS NOT THE WAY AND MEANS TO BE ADOPTED TO PREVENT AN ENEMY IMPOSING FOREIGN RULE ON BRITAIN BY INVASION AND OCCUPATION; IT IS THE METHODS BY WHICH BRITAIN CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE ITS POWER FELT IN THE WORLD.

It does not mean what is to be done between Plymouth and Folkestone, or between Dover and Berwick; it means what is to be done in the Suez or in Lebanon. The need to protect Britain as an isolated act of policy does not arise; but it arises as a possible consequence of a world war that may be brought about by something that is done in, say, the Middle East.

The "domination" against which Britain has to be protected is thus its subordination in the world power struggle. Britain's "nuclear vocation," which France now wishes to share, is to prevent the British Foreign Minister from going "naked into the Council Chamber."

★ ★
THOSE BRITISH PEOPLE WHO ARE CAPABLE today of facing the facts of the world, without illusions left over from a romantic nostalgia for Britain's imperialist past, can see that the way that Britain could now give leadership is the pacifist way.

This means showing a clear recognition in the councils of the world that the days are past in which the affairs of the world can be settled by a conflict of power. At the best such an attitude could have a positive influence on the two great states primarily responsible for the power struggle today.

It is in such a situation, however, that the possibility of occupation contemplated in the discussion of British "defence" policy has reality. In a world war, or in preparation for a world war, no people whose territory offers strategic advantages to one or other of the contestants is safe from the possibility of invasion.

Given the continuance of the power struggle with Britain outside it, there would of course be the possibility of the occupation of Britain by either of the contestants, Russia or the US. Either would produce the same kind of justification that Britain offers today for its occupation of Cyprus.

In such a situation a policy of non-violent resistance would become possible, and could be effective. If it were worked out in advance in practical terms, it could be made evident that the commandeering of British territory for war purposes could prove more of a liability than a military advantage.

In such circumstances its territory might well be preserved inviolate even in a world war; although its atmosphere would not, of course, be preserved from deadly radio-activity any more than that of the rest of the world.

launching sites for missiles and the stocking of nuclear bombs and warheads for NATO purposes has still to be negotiated and the question of the French right to US assistance in becoming a nuclear power will doubtless be raised again.

In any case the desires, not only of France but of many other aspiring powers will have to be taken into account when the application of a ban upon tests comes to be seriously discussed. There is no reason why the "Big Four" should continue to be the only four. The arguments by which Britain has justified its insistence on becoming a nuclear power, which will now doubtless be repeated by France, can have an equal application to every other Government.

The biggest of the Powers in population and productive potentialities is China, and there is no MacMahon Act to prevent Russia from assisting China to become a nuclear power. Should Russia share the US doubts about the wisdom of passing on this information it will not be many years before China will be in a much better position than France to undertake the necessary research for herself, and China in asserting its "nuclear vocation" would have even less reason than France to heed to any moral disapproval that might be expressed through the United Nations. And there is, of course, the present possibility that any Government, however backward, may be able to produce for itself the "crude" nuclear weapons that Mr. Dulles has already mentioned.

Every month that passes without an effective adjustment to the conditions of the nuclear age of the foreign relationships of the nations increases the possibility of world disaster; and the only effective adjustment lies in the abandonment of relationships based on the possibility of war. That means the acceptance of a policy of pacifism.

The first nation that really accepts "nuclear vocation" will disarm.

Algeria

ABOUT the more important happenings during General de Gaulle's tour of Algeria last week we have yet to learn. These relate to his meetings with the various generals, what they said to him, and, particularly, what he said to them. Time will show, and the indications will be so much in what happens in Algeria as in what happens in France.

So far as the settlers are concerned, it would seem that they have been subdued, and that they will henceforth have a much smaller voice in the conduct of French policy. That will be all to the good.

General de Gaulle seems to have planned and carried through this crucial visit with considerable political skill. His visit was not primarily to Algiers, but to the whole land of Algeria. The earlier and greater part of his tour was spent in districts far from the capital, so that, he could get an understanding of the "heart of the problem." That in itself was a salutary intimation to the settlers.

He only arrived in Algiers on the last day of his visit, and when the Committee of Public Safety asked that its deputy (that included M. Delbecque) might be received, he refused on the ground that he was pressed for time. He consented to see General Massu (of the tortures, who is President, although whether he was received in his capacity as President or as General is not clear. What passed between the two, as what passed between General de Gaulle and General Salan, will not be known until time reveals it.

As we have implied above, the settler rebellion is at an end. Most of the leading soldiers engaged in Algeria have at one time or another expressed their contempt for the settlers, who had created for them quite as difficult problems as had the "rebel" Algerians.

What is in question is whether the settlers' rebellion—that is, the rebellion of the colonels and generals—has also been brought to an end; are they ready, to say, to accept the plans of de Gaulle and his Government—for it must be remembered that de Gaulle has a Government that includes Mollet and Pompidou—are they persisting in their own plans for ending "the system"?

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, writes from MALTA on

FANTASTIC ISLAND

—no Government, no Governor, former Ministers in jail

THIS is a fantastic island. I rub my eyes and wonder if the sun has made me sleep and dream. It's a political Alice in Wonderland.

I've just been to the Central Jail, where I've met as prisoners a woman and a man who three months ago were Minister of Education and Minister of Health. They are serving sentences of 42 days for intimidation and complicity in intimidation.

I don't know any other place outside Communist or Fascist countries where they would be in prison. During the general strike in April, Miss Barbara, the most successful Education Minister Malta has ever had, warned the driver of a van that it might be turned over if he proceeded. Dr. Heizler, the most successful Health Minister Malta has ever had, was with Miss Barbara, but apparently did not say a word. The magistrate found them guilty and sent them to prison. He did not give them the option of a fine.

Law is a farce

The director of the jail, a human person, told me that of his 200 prisoners 53 were serving sentences associated with the political crisis in April.

Most of them had been charged with "unlawful assembly"—which means that ten people had got together.

This information sent my knuckles to my eyes again. I rubbed violently.

When I addressed a meeting here of 4,000 people I spoke freely, as did Dom Mintoff (Malta's Prime Minister until April), and our speeches were reported in the Press. There was a great show of police outside the Opera House, but no suggestion of police interference with the meeting. This was certainly an assembly of more than ten people... yet I've been allowed to leave the prison.

I probe this, and find that the meeting to which I spoke was technically "private." It was advertised in the Press as for Labour Party members only. What a farce the law is!

There is no rhyme or reason in the administration of the island.

Integration sought

The Constitution has not been withdrawn, but there is no Government. Mr. Mintoff is not Prime Minister, and the leader of the Opposition to him is not Prime Minister. There is no Minister of Education or of Health to replace those two admirable people I've met in prison. There is just a vacuum.

There isn't even a Governor in Malta. I had an hour with him at the Colonial Office in London before I left.

There's a Lieutenant-Governor here, whom I visited but it's a doubtful legal point whether the Governor and he, with the backing of the Colonial Secretary, had any right to suspend the Constitution. That is what, in effect, they have done. Certainly they had no right, morally or in sanity, to do so. Consider what happened.

Malta has been bound to Britain, its work, its life. It is white limestone rock, with sometimes six inches of earth. It has no minerals. It has little water. Its existence has depended upon the naval dockyards, the naval ships in its harbours, the RAF airfields, the army in transit, the NATO Mediterranean headquarters. Without them, no work, no wages.

Realisation of this led the Maltese Labour Government to propose that the island should be integrated with Britain. An all-Party delegation from Westminster endorsed this idea, and the British Government said it would apply the recommendation. Negotiations with the Maltese representatives began. Then Mr. Duncan Sandys announced that under the new British Defence arrangements the naval dockyard would be cut.

Dom Mintoff saw that the basis for integration was tottering. He asked for assurances of employment for the dockyard men and for increased economic aid. All the British Government would offer was

special assistance if during six months the level of unemployment in Malta rose above the level in Britain. The annual economic aid to Malta was reduced from £6,000,000 to £5,000,000.

The Maltese Ministers retorted by carrying a resolution in the Legislature threatening to break association with Britain, and the Maltese trades unions declared a general strike. In many towns the workers drove out the police and commandos. In some they burned down the police stations.

Solution is possible

A conflict arose between Prime Minister and Governor. The Prime Minister ordered the withdrawal of the mounted police, and prohibited baton charges. The Governor gave contrary orders. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet then resigned on the ground that the Governor had exceeded his constitutional authority.

It will be seen that the quarrel between Dom Mintoff and London was, first, on the issue of economic aid to prevent unemployment. Secondly, it was on the issue of powers over the police. I believe a settlement of the first could have been reached if the second hadn't risen.

The breach has, of course, been widened by the Emergency Regulations and the arrests which have followed.

My talks here have convinced me that a solution is possible. Its basis, I suggest, is:

1. The dockyards should be reconstructed for civilian repairs (the Governor is already seeking contracts), and light industries should be developed.
2. Britain should accept responsibility for the necessary capital investment, either by direct allocation or by backing a loan, and British aid should be restored to £6,000,000 a year for an agreed period.
3. Since Malta's military rôle was accepted by the Commonwealth and the West as of first importance, they should be invited to contribute towards its reconstruction for peace.
4. The Emergency Regulations should be withdrawn, prisoners should be released, prosecutions should be stopped.
5. A transitional constitution should be introduced, pending reconsideration of integration with Britain or independence. This constitution should allow full self-government to Malta, except in relation to defence and foreign affairs.
6. Dom Mintoff and the Maltese Labour Party should be asked to resume responsibility for government, on the understanding that there should be a general election next April with a democratic revision of constituencies.

I shall be submitting proposals on these lines to Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Governor, and the British Labour Party leadership, and I hope they may lead to a conclusion of the emergency, the development of democratic government in Malta, and security and social progress for its people.

THE SHOCK OF TRUTH

IF there is one thing that gives us more encouragement than any other it is the fine crowd of new young readers now supporting the paper. A sixteen-year-old from Glasgow writes: "The most startling thing about it is that everything in it is the truth... What a difference from the lies, misrepresentations and rubbish in the daily Press!"

Then there is the 18-year-old Grammar School head boy in N. London with several of his school friends out selling the paper at local fetes and religious gatherings, our Pacifist Youth Action Group out in force on the day and night watches of the Whitehall "Atom Plants for Peace not War" vigil last week-end, the schoolboy sellers on the London Protest March, and the vivacious young lady who sold dozens of Peace News at the Women's Rally.

Youth is waking up to the big challenge. Let them all come! H.F.M.



The scene in Malta last week when Fenner Brockway, MP, rose to speak at the "private" meeting.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN ON THE NEW POLITICS

By Margaret Tims

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN spoke in London last week of his reasons for retiring from active political life in India to work for Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan movement.

He was introduced by Horace Alexander as a former socialist who has given up party politics: this was not a renunciation of politics but of the desire for political power.

Jayaprakash has told the story of his development from non-co-operation, through Communism and Democratic Socialism, to "Sarvodaya" in his book "Towards a New Society" (Congress for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi).

He told the meeting that the aim of the "new politics" is to create a democracy without parties and a State with the minimum of central coercion.

Refusal of power

The significance of Gandhi's gesture in refusing to accept power himself after the granting of Indian independence has never been fully appreciated, he said. Gandhi was not concerned with power, or with the transference of power: he was concerned to create a situation in which people could look after themselves.

Just before his death Gandhi drafted proposals that Congress, now that its task of fighting for India's freedom was finished, should retire from the political field and become a service organisation for the people. This was a revolutionary proposal. It was as if Lenin, after the October Revolution, had said: "Now that the revolution has succeeded the Bolshevik party should disband itself."

Such a thing had never happened in history, and Gandhi did not live to see it happen. But Jayaprakash believes that many of the top Congress people would have followed Gandhi in this, and then there would have been the growth of a different kind of power, a moral power, which would have exercised its influence on every party and government, acting as the conscience of the country.

Our life today, he said, is based on the assumption of a conflict on interests between different members of society, some of whom may sometimes join together to defend their common interests. Vinoba Bhave is trying to create a framework of social life based on the community of in-

terests rather than the conflict of interests, so that violence may be eliminated from the very springs of life. "I don't know how a movement aiming at that objective could be started here," he said. But Gandhi did not get all his ideas from the Indian tradition; he was greatly influenced by Christianity and by many Western thinkers.

The philosophy of love which Gandhi practised cannot be put into practice by legislation, but only by changing human beings. The reaction of people in the West to this is that only a few individuals can be changed; and in any case it would take too long to change them all. Gandhi's genius lay in the fact that he discovered a way of creating a mass-movement based essentially on the individual; by satyagraha he showed how to convert the individual on a mass-scale.

On the question of peace, Jayaprakash said this must be tackled both at the roots, by changing the basis of human life, and at the top, for instance in the dispute with Pakistan. Vinoba Bhave expects to go into Kashmir by October, 1959. Vinoba believes that India should adopt a policy of unilateral disarmament irrespective of how many arms Pakistan has, and irrespective of the actions of her neighbours China and Russia or those of Britain and America.

'Volunteer of peace'

But, being realistic in his idealism, Vinoba knows that even Nehru could not put such a policy across to the country. The minds of the people must be prepared, not only by talking but by demonstrating that internal disputes can be settled without the help of the militia.

To this end, Vinoba proposes that for every five thousand people there should be one "volunteer of peace," who would become a full-time servant of the community. He must become personally acquainted with all the people and their problems and must maintain himself on the support of the community.

Jayaprakash suggested that in the industrial civilisation of the West it is just as necessary to give attention to the type of organisation which should be created so that non-violence could be practised in the economy and industry: an organisation based on values rather than mechanisms.

Although Western industrial civilisation has given a higher standard of living there is more than one kind of poverty and this kind of society has brought "spiritual poverty."

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War and the women's vote

A COMMENT ON THE CENTENARY OF EMMELINE PANKHURST

DURING the militant Suffragette campaign, Mrs. Pankhurst must often have used an argument which then appears to have been familiar to advocates of votes for women. Continually they insisted that every vote given to a woman would be a vote against war.

In 1911, at the height of the Suffragette struggle, Olive Schreiner made this point in a famous passage often quoted in her book "Woman And Labour."

"But, it may then be said: 'What of war, that struggle of the human creature to attain its ends by physical force and at the price of the life of others: will you take part in that also?' We reply: Yes; more particularly in that field we intend to play our part. We have always borne part of the weight of war, and the major part. . . . We demand our controlling right where war is concerned. . . . Men have made boomerangs, bows, swords or guns with which to destroy one another; we have made the men who destroyed and were destroyed! . . . *We pay the first cost on all human life.*"

Created Welfare State

Today, 100 years after Mrs. Pankhurst's birth and 30 after her death, we can ask ourselves, against the perspective of our times, how far Olive Schreiner and other supporters of the Suffragette campaign were right. The facts, I fear, would have disappointed the prophets.

Though women are still a tiny minority in the House of Commons and other legis-

By Vera Brittain

lative assemblies, it has long been clear that in domestic politics their attitude to many important problems is different from that of most men. Women have not only largely staffed, but have created and inspired the Welfare State.

Ignored responsibility

In national and local social work, woman's deep concern for the individual and the family has found full expression. Women have a special gift for the practical aspects of welfare which has made the social worker one of the most successful of professional women. Social reform has been a major concern of women politicians from all parties; these include Dr. Edith Summerskill, Miss Pat Hornsby-Smith, Mrs. Jean Mann and Miss Joan Vickers. The creative work in this field of the late Eleanor Rathbone, MP, with its outcome in family allowances, is a signpost of recent history.

The story is unfortunately different in the realm of international relations. In their attitude towards war and peace, women voters and the politicians who represent them appear to have varied in exactly the same way as men. Some, indeed, have seemed in wartime more anxious to see the slaughter of other women's sons than the leading generals on both sides.

When World War II broke out one or two of Britain's most eloquent and conspicuous women pacifists became equally rabid militarists. Even the late and great

Maude Royden, once the editor of The Common Cause, did not wholly escape infection by the germ of war propaganda.

Other women, less restrained than she, totally ignored the biological responsibility which had seemed paramount to Olive Schreiner. Some of the most gifted joined the Ministry of Information. Others used their voices and pens to cry for vengeance on Germany—though this, in practice, meant incinerating German mothers and children in the "fire-typhoons" due to the obliteration bombing of Hamburg, Dresden, and other great cities, or drowning them in the Ruhr valleys after the breach by Lancaster bombers of the Eder and Mohne dams.

Votes for life

"Saturation," initiated by the British and adopted by the Americans after the Nazi bombing of London, ushered in the policy of genocide, which led directly to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and more recently to the Hydrogen Bomb and the continuous menace of nuclear tests.

In 1944, when the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation published a protest against "Massacre Bombing," the voices raised to denounce its authors and sponsors included those of such justly famous women as Eleanor Roosevelt and Dorothy Thompson. It is only fair to add that Mrs. Roosevelt has recently become a leading sponsor of the US Campaign for a Sane Nuclear Policy, while after 1945 Dorothy Thompson founded a World Organisation of Mothers of All Nations to repudiate war.



VERA BRITTAIN

So far, despite Mrs. Roosevelt, the campaigns for nuclear disarmament in both Britain and America have been sponsored mainly by men. In Britain, Earl Russell, Stephen King-Hall, the Rev. Donald Soper, and Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, have become its chief exponents, while Norman Cousins, editor of The Saturday Review of Literature, and John Hersey, author of "A Bell for Adano" and "Hiroshima," perform the same function in the USA.

Today the menace of nuclear warfare threatens all mothers, and all children, throughout the world to precisely the same degree as it threatens all men. Surely it is time that women remembered the lead given them by Olive Schreiner and, during the Suffragette campaign, by Emmeline Pankhurst, and used their votes and their now considerable influence on the side of life rather than death.

Meeting with Khrushchev-II

A MESSAGE FROM THE SOVIET LEADER

Stuart Morris, Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, returned from the Soviet Union recently, with other members of a delegation, after talks with the Soviet Peace Committee, Mr. Khrushchev and others.

On his return he answered questions about his visit, put to him by J. Allen Skinner, Arlo Tatum, Sybil Morrison, Roy Sherwood and the Editor of Peace News.

Last week Stuart Morris suggested that the imprisonment of Jehovah's Witnesses in Russia resulted from "the very strict interpretation of the relations of the State to any religious cult. They were probably considered to be engaging in political propaganda."

J. ALLEN SKINNER: They probably are. The Witnesses could not subsist on the same basis as the Baptists will accept, who do no missionary work.

STUART MORRIS: The Baptists and orthodox Christians say there is missionary work going on. "We are in exactly the same position as the Early Church," they said. "We meet together for worship and though we can't have Sunday Schools or religious teaching outside our services, missionary work is going on through our homes all the time."

TATUM: Were they critical of the fact that they could not have Sunday Schools?

Not in the least. They accepted it and were delighted at the fact that young people survived the Marxist-Leninist training and thinking in schools and Universities, and were offering themselves for the ministry—more than the academics could take.

TATUM: You have not yet given us the message to the British people which you asked Mr. Khrushchev to send through your delegation.

After saying that it was important for people at all levels in East and West to meet together, he continued:

"I understand that some people are frightened that we are striving for world



STUART MORRIS

domination. That's a quite silly fear. We like our social system and we fought for it and we established it. You in Britain live under a different social system and you seem to like it.

"Well, how silly it is to have a war because we have got different social conditions. If you think we are coming across to rob you—there is not much

to rob in the British Isles—even your weather. Besides we are honest and we don't live on stolen goods.

"We prefer to live on our own labour and our own resources. We have within our own boundaries everything that is necessary for our own means. We have got oil, iron ore, chemicals and other raw materials which we are quite ready to share with you.

"We want to develop our agricultural system. We are developing our chemical industry and building up our synthetic fibres. All we want are conditions of peace within which we can continue our development.

"My words are quite sincere. The Government which tries to inculcate peace into the minds of its people cannot be preparing them for war.

"Hitler used to talk about more guns and less butter. We talk about more butter and fewer guns. We have reduced our armed forces. We have increased our agricultural production. I have one word for you to take to the British people: Peace, peace, and again peace. That is our policy and that is our message."

EDITOR: This message will be read in the light of events since your meeting with Mr. Khrushchev. I am thinking particularly of the execution of Mr. Nagy. Would you like to comment on this? Our readers will have read your letter of protest sent to the Soviet Peace Committee which appeared in Peace News on June 27.

It is no use saying we can't go on talking; we can't trust them because they have got blood on their hands. It is all the more reason for going on talking with them and to them, provided we can make our protest.

Trust only becomes worthwhile when you are trusting people who seem to you untrustworthy. There is no virtue in trusting people you already believe in and have confidence in. It is the persistent goodwill towards the people that you know are doing bad things in the hope that you are going to win them round to a better frame of mind, that seems to me to be important.

RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

The Lambeth Conferences in 1930 and 1948 made the following pronouncements:

"The Conference affirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ." (proclaimed by both conferences).

"As the Christian conscience has condemned infanticide and slavery and torture, it is now called upon to condemn war as an outrage on the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all mankind." (1930).

"War on a global scale with modern weapons of destruction must be no more. It is both a blasphemy and an anachronism." (1948).

Can the Bishops in 1958 say more? Can they DO LESS to implement what they say? Issued by the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ. Further particulars from Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex. London Group Meeting at Friends International Centre 4 p.m. on Sunday, July 20

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D I A R Y *And he spake of trees*

REGINALD REYNOLDS reviews

Land of Tane, by Richard St. Barbe Baker. Lutterworth Press, 12s. 6d.

YOU will find it in I Kings IV, verse 33, "from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." It is one of the best things I know about Solomon.

I first became interested in forests in 1930, when I spent some time with an Indian friend who later became Inspector-General of Forests throughout India. M. D. Chaturvedi told me of the mistakes made for 50 years in Indian forestry, due to blind application of principles learnt in the universities of Britain and Europe. "Chats" (as we called him) also showed the connection between shortage of fuel and soil deterioration: he made the first Indian experiments in village plantations, enabling the peasant to save cow-dung for his fields instead of burning it.

It was the beginning of an interest in trees, soil and water which has increased with the years. We people who live in towns are the ones who most need to think about soil problems, because we are the worst sinners. Forests are devoured to provide us with books and newspapers. The land feeds us, but our refuse and sewage systems seldom return the waste products that the land needs in return.

In India I saw for the first time how even the railways which connected great towns cut across the waterways of the plains with their embankments, increasing the dangers from seasonal floods.

These and many other examples could be cited to show that an urban civilisation needs a much greater sense of responsibility than urban civilisations have usually shown—from the time when Rome impoverished the people and the soil of her provinces to this age of dust-bowls. It is essentially a human and therefore a religious problem. The eighteenth century Quaker, John Woolman, saw it that way when he warned the American colonists that they were impoverishing their soil to send its products abroad for gold—which was relatively useless.

Yet still such lessons have to be taught, and among the great teachers of our time is Richard St. Barbe Baker. His latest book is mainly about problems which confront New Zealand, owing to past policy (or lack of policy) with regard to felling and planting trees; but it is no technical treatise. The author discusses many related problems, and has fascinating information about plants, soil fertility, water, animals and human beings, not only in New Zealand, but in every part of the world.

I specially appreciated his comparison between New Zealand, where relations between white people and Maoris are good, and Kenya where there is so much racial conflict. The author worked for years in Kenya and became very friendly with the Kikuyu, of whose customs he has written beautifully in other books. "The only secret of my success," he writes, "was that I treated them as fellow human beings."

It doesn't seem much to ask, but it is rare to find an attitude so reasonable among white people in Kenya! With all his specialist knowledge he found, too, that he had much to learn from the Kikuyu about the trees of their own country. So he did not make the sort of mistakes that the British made for 50 years in India.

In New Zealand one of the things that the author criticises is the introduction of animals from abroad for "sport" (i.e., killing for fun) in the hope of encouraging tourists. This policy has seriously upset the balance of nature, just as it did in Australia. He agrees with Aldous Huxley that "in a few years most of what we are today pleased to call progress will prove to be an orgy of criminal madness."

This does not only refer to our abuse of atomic energy. It is to be seen wherever what Sir Albert Howard used to call "fragmentation" makes us unable to see life whole. People like Richard St. Barbe Baker are trying to bring us all to our senses before it is too late, and there is a slow response to the gospel they are preaching. In 1953 I remember tree planting was an important thing in General

Neguib's programme for Egypt—I do not know whether Nasser followed it up—and only last year I saw that the Tunisian Government had a similar long-range programme.

You can grow many things for your own needs, but the man who plants trees is thinking about posterity. It is essentially a social act. If anybody wants proof that my own father was a good man I shall simply say: "He planted trees when he was 65 in a garden he didn't even own." I happen to know the tenant who succeeded my father, and that is how she still thinks of him.

BRITISH MONARCHY

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

Is The Monarchy Perfect? By Lord Altrincham and others. John Calder, 12s. 6d.

THIS volume brings together several articles on different aspects of the British monarchy—including the article by Lord Altrincham which caused some disturbance last summer. (Two chapters give a short account of this disturbance.)

The issues raised by this book may not seem to be of immediate importance for pacifists, but they have a bearing on the problem of avoiding war. The monarchy today is one focus of the emotions which make it difficult to think reasonably about international affairs. The Queen has no more fervent champions than the League of Empire Loyalists. The stiffened faces and erect bodies which for some decades have usually accompanied the performance of the National Anthem express a perilous lapse from thought into herd sentiment.

The authors explore the means by which the monarchy can be civilised a little, made into an asset rather than a liability in the nuclear age. Unhappily, Lord Altrincham does not include his ingenious proposal to seek royal brides in Ceylon, or some other Asian or African country. But Mr. Muggeridge puts the case for a new type of courtier; Mr. T. H. Allen wants the monarchy to give more patronage to the arts; and Mr. Mackenzie John suggests that the Queen should imitate the Pope, and give her blessing twice weekly to overseas visitors.

There is, in fact, little serious analysis of the function of the monarchy in modern Britain. But the book is a welcome sign of the times. It looks as though Britain may be able to grow out of that nostalgic imperialism which could still be a serious obstacle to the development of a world society.

Sign of a change

DURING his stay in London, A. J. Muste, of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation told me that a hopeful indication of changing American opinion was provided recently by the Presbyterian Church (the Northern and United merged).

A motion calling for an unconditional ending of all testing of mass-destruction weapons, introduced at their convention failed by only 15 votes out of 1,000.

Such motions have not even been introduced in these conventions before.

The young Presbyterian who introduced the motion was the son of Dr. Allen Hunter, well-known pacifist minister at Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, California.

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STUDY AND ACTION

A NAVAL officer who resigned to become a pacifist will be one of the discussion leaders at a three-week training programme in non-violence which opens at Woolmandale, Pennsylvania, on August 11.

He is John Ingersoll, and was one of the participants in the Nevada desert demonstration against the US nuclear tests as well as one of the Memorial Day Walkers to Washington.

The training programme is for "people who have already done some serious thinking about non-violence as a way of life" and who wish to explore more deeply its history and application. It is hoped that field trips and projects in non-violence may be planned as opportunities develop in the three-week programme.

Of those who took part in last year's programme, Orion Sherwood is in jail in Hawaii with the rest of the crew of the Golden Rule, Bill Henry in prison for refusing military service, David Gale working for Non-violent Action Against Nuclear War, Arthur Springer at work on a project at America's ICBM base at Cheyenne, and Arthur Harvey organising demonstrations at Cape Canaveral.

Study and action going hand in hand.



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Second H-protest ship stopped

From LAWRENCE SCOTT

THE American yacht, Phoenix, was stopped on July 1 by the United States Coast Guard after she had sailed about 65 miles into the Eniwetok nuclear testing area.

The coastguards who had warned the crew of the Phoenix that they should turn back, towed the yacht to Kwajalein, outside the testing area. According to an Associated Press dispatch, "Navy headquarters said that after the Phoenix reached Kwajalein Mr. Reynolds (the skipper) would be flown to Honolulu and placed in the custody of the United States Attorney."

The Phoenix sailed from Honolulu on June 11 with Mr. and Mrs. Earle Reynolds, their son Ted 19, their daughter Jessica, 14, and Nick Mikami of Hiroshima aboard.

On sailing they gave their destination as Hiroshima, stating that they would sail near the nuclear testing area, but avoiding any public statement that they would sail directly into the testing area. They had been in close communication with the crew of the Golden Rule while in Honolulu.

RESEARCH IN HIROSHIMA

Mr. Reynolds and his family have been for the past four years on a voyage around the world after a period of research and study on the effects of radiation in Hiroshima. Part of his work in Hiroshima was under the direction of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission.

A spokesman for Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, made the following comment after the arrest:

"The attempt by Harold Steele to sail into the Christmas Islands testing area was never realised; the effort of the crew of the Golden Rule was stopped by the power of the United States military forces. Yet these two efforts provided much of the inspiration for the successful challenge by the Phoenix. And this is not the end. Courageous acts have their chain effect and governments will eventually be forced to respond to the will of the people."

IT is not my purpose here to discuss the rights or wrongs of the Swiss Government's ban on the proposed Nuclear Disarmament Conference at Basle, but, since the speech that was to have opened it has been published, to discuss some of its implications.

It is, of course, not the first time that Bertrand Russell has indicated his attitude in regard to the possession of the H-bomb by the USA and the USSR. He is not a pacifist, and it is, therefore, in no way to be expected that he should advocate a pacifist solution to the world's nuclear dilemma.

Nevertheless, many pacifists are engaged in support of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, of which Bertrand Russell is one of the leaders, and the fact that he was invited to make the opening speech at a Conference on this subject would seem to indicate that his views are considered to be of special importance.

It is natural for all of us to desire to preserve the human race from the disaster of complete annihilation, but in order to do so, it is essential to recognise the incontrovertible fact that nuclear weapons are

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NIEMOELLER WARNS THE WHITE RACES

"The white man has got notice to quit!"

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

SPEAKING recently to a gathering of nearly 500 people at the Watchorn Methodist Memorial Church, Alfreton (Derbyshire), Dr. Martin Niemöller declared: "What we are seeing in Algeria and other places is the last breath of war. Either humanity will disappear or war will disappear—a third possibility is no longer real."

Ten H-bombs with a cobalt mantle would solve the problem by destroying all human and animal life on the surface of the shrinking globe—but there were more than ten cobalt bombs in the world today. The United States was credited with having 30, and the Russians ten.

That meant that we could not fight Communism with war although it did not mean that we had not to fight Communism.

"It will be a much more complicated thing to fight it—to fight it by the Spirit, and not my bombs," said the Pastor.

Human beings and human races could no longer live together on the pattern of 200 years ago, with colonialism, race discrimination and caste systems. To-day nations that had been suppressed and oppressed as colonial peoples were no longer willing to remain behind, and the situation was sharpened by the poverty and hunger that existed in great parts of the world. Of the world's population of 3,000,000,000 about 1,200,000,000 were white and 1,800,000,000 so-called "coloureds."

"Sixteen hundred million people don't know what it is to feel full—satisfied," said Pastor Niemöller. "They go to bed—if they have a bed—with a constant feeling of hunger in their stomachs, and now they are looking in the pot which is on our fire—and they want to have their share of what is cooking. They are trying to get it, and we may be sure they will."

The world's population was growing fast—so fast that by the end of the century its 3,000,000,000 would have become

7,000,000,000. But the white population would have increased only from 1,200,000,000 to 1,800,000,000, while the coloured would then be 5,200,000,000. "The white man has got notice to quit," said Pastor Niemöller.

Communism was generally regarded as the scapegoat for a situation which in a few decades might easily lead to the extinction of the white man, but the development was certainly not due to Communism. Whether there was communism in the world or not the process would go on.

Prayed against England

"Communism, we ought to know and confess, is a product of the Western world. I think it is not difficult to demonstrate that Communism has been possible only in the Christian world—a Christian world that has missed its aim. Remember that the white man and the white nations—the Christian world and Christian nations, have been masters of the whole globe for 500 years continually since the Pope divided the world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese."

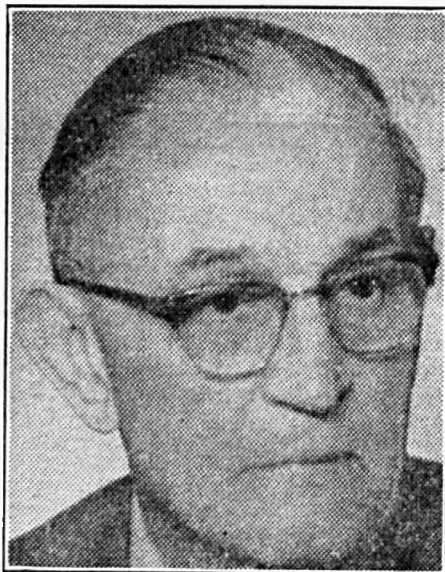
What could we do to solve the problem of showing how people could live together in the world?

The only way out of the dilemma was for the white people—the Christian people—as we prided ourselves to be—to make friends and become good and merciful neighbours while there was time left, said Pastor Niemöller, warning: "It is a short time we have."

He said he was deeply disquieted that the Western world was doing almost nothing to make friends, although there were 1,600,000,000 people living on the border line between hunger and starvation. Friends were never made by paying for their armaments.

Confessing that during the First World War he had prayed against England and the English because he thought it was his duty, Pastor Niemöller said that in the Second World War he did not, and hoped it would never be done again. It was time the world left its old ways.

A Christian Church that was out only to save her own life would certainly lose it, for the Church had been put into the world not to save her own life, but to save the world with her own life. The problem of East and West would not be solved by force and violence; it would need a struggle of the Spirit, and the use of our means to help the suffering to become self-supporting.



Martin Niemöller

By Sybil Morrison

MONOPOLY IN WAR

I would wish to see my own country renounce the Bomb, and use its influence to secure an agreement confining the Bomb to Russia and America. . . . It is imperative, if we wish human life to continue, to devise machinery for the prevention of great wars. The only such machinery that seems possible is a single Federal World Government possessing a monopoly of all the more serious weapons of war.

—Bertrand Russell. Opening Speech designed for banned Basle Conference on Nuclear Disarmament. July 6, 1958 The Observer.

the direct, and quite logical result, of centuries of reliance upon the method of war as a final arbiter in the disputes or disagreements of nations.

Bertrand Russell argues that "great wars" threaten the human race with extinction, and from that premise he naturally proceeds to demand that "great wars" must be prevented. He seems to overlook the fact that small wars can lead on to great wars, and that even if the H-bomb and all its satellite horrors were to be abandoned, they could be produced again should a small war be started anywhere in the world.

Men of Bertrand Russell's intellectual calibre must know that man's achievements in science, and subsequent production of

machines and weapons, cannot be conveniently wiped off the slate of knowledge; their discoveries are written down in indelible ink for all time.

His imaginary World Government, possessed, and in complete control of, these enormous powers of total destruction is as terrifying an authoritarian idea as the weapons themselves.

Governments are, after all, made up of individual people; these individual people have, for centuries, been pursuing the myth of peace through power. There is no reason to believe that a World Government made up of these same people, with a monopoly in war weapons, will be any more successful in that aim.

It is the basic assumption that peace can be secured, and men saved from their own monstrous mistakes by maintaining great military power, that is at fault. The very fact that Bertrand Russell can argue for maintaining it on behalf of a world authority, shows that he is himself convinced that the threat of overwhelming force is a basic necessity for keeping peace.

Yet, all history goes to prove that men and women are not deterred in the long run by fear of consequences, and that often a threat is the very thing that sparks off a determination to challenge it.

If a conference on nuclear disarmament was to have been based upon the idea of Britain renouncing the bomb and supporting its retention by America and Russia for any reason whatever, it is perhaps well that it is not to take place, or, if any rate postponed until such time as more inspired leadership has emerged.

The weapons of war are the symptoms of the illness, they are not the illness itself. Now that the symptoms are so appalling it is little to be wondered that men and women are wildly attempting to subdue them; but such treatment cannot succeed. When war itself has been renounced, and only then, can the world be safe from its weapons.